1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Chapter One

Bali: Some General Information

I

The Balinese Landscape

The island of Bali lies due east of Java, separated only by a narrow strait. Its total area is somewhat more than two thousand square miles. 131

The westernmost district of Bali, Jĕmbrana, was in earlier times fairly isolated from the central part of the island. It had many more contacts with the extreme east of Java, to the west overseas, than with the rest of Bali, to the east overland. An indication of its isolation is the fact that it did not contribute to the cost of maintaining Bali's chief temple, Pura Bĕsakih.[1] This isolation was brought to an end in the twentieth century with the construction of a road along the south coast. Moreover, beginning in the 'thirties many Balinese transmigrated to Jĕmbrana to help in opening up the land there, and that, too, has tended to strengthen the bonds with the central part of the island. Ethnically and religiously Jĕmbrana is the least homogeneous of all the regions of Bali (see Table 4 below). 101

The main part of the island – central Bali, as the Balinese themselves call it – is the densely populated territory which slopes from the island's high mountain range down towards the south. Cut through by many river valleys running from north to south, it is a fertile *sawah* region. The mountain range runs from the west *via* Gunung Batu Kau ('the coconut-shell mountain', 7,462 feet), and the central highland and lake country with Gunung Batur (5,630 feet, a volcano which has wrought great destruction on the island at various times, notably in 1917 and 1927), to Gunung Agung ('the great mountain', 10,302 feet), [101] 133

[P. 3] [no textual materials in p.2]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

172 One encounters in even the oldest inscriptions and the oldest
101 images much that is reminiscent of India. Sanskrit, an Indian script, Buddhist religious formulas, and Brahmanic rites appear to have been known. The rulers – for example Kesarī – (*circa* 913 A.D.), the first of a dynasty called Warmadewa[3] – have Sanskrit names. There are images of the Hindu gods (a Çiwa, for example, and a few centuries later a four-headed Brahmā) and of characters from the great epics (for instance Arjuna, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*). The oldest dated inscription is from 882 A.D., and the oldest images are probably from the period of the eighth to the tenth century.[4]

177 In brief, the data now available are sufficient to convince
101 scholars in the field that Bali had its share in the great stream of Indian culture that washed over the southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. In this connection it is customary to speak of 'Hinduization' and 'Hindu' periods in the history of the lands concerned. These terms should not be understood as being restricted to Hinduism as a religion, however. The Buddhist temple Barabudur in central Java, for instance, is considered as one of the 'Hindu' monuments of early Java. 'Hindu', then, is in this connection a designation for everything related to the culture and religion of the India of that day. Java had such a Hindu period, called the Hindu-Javanese; Sumatra, Cambodia, and Burma likewise. And Bali also appears to belong in that list.

648 How this Hindu influence is to be explained cannot be said with
771 any certainty. It is clear that it had something to do with the com-
101 mercial relations which India maintained with China and other lands of the Far East. That trade brought knowledge of India and contact with and respect for Indian culture and religion to Sumatra and Java. However, the nature of the Hindu elements found in Indonesia makes it highly improbable that their diffusion can be explained solely or chiefly by trade. Rather, it is now assumed that Indonesian rulers wished to associate themselves with Indian culture, and for that purpose were able to attract Brahmanic priests, the representatives of Indian culture *par excellence*, to

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Ballnese OF7

their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

eastern Javanese princess. She was considered of higher rank than her husband, as appears for example from the fact that she is mentioned before her husband in the edicts,[7] and that one of her sons bears titles corresponding to those in his mother's family, not to those in the family of his father, as normally would have been the case. Another son, Erlangga, became ruler of the eastern Javanese realm (1019–1042); his younger brothers (or half-brothers) ruled on Bali. A series of their edicts dating from the years 1022–1077 has been preserved.[8] Together, these facts constitute sufficient reason to assume that in the period at hand there were such close political ties between eastern Java and Bali that strong cultural influence would naturally follow.

It is, then, not absolutely necessary to explain the Hindu elements in the culture of Bali during and since that period by direct contact with India; they can at least as easily have been the result of an indirect influence, *via* the intermediary of Hindu-Javanese culture. But be that as it may, this period (*circa* 1000–1343) can be characterized as the Hindu-Balinese period of older Balinese history.

From the end of the eleventh century onwards Old Javanese became the usual language of the inscriptions, and this fact would seem to indicate a lasting cultural influence. Politically, however, the ties were by no means firm. There is reference to a successful expedition from eastern Java against Bali in 1284,[9] but not long afterwards inscriptions were again issued on Bali by rulers who showed no signs of political dependence on Java. The last of them, in 1337, bore the lengthy name of Aṣṭāsura-ratna bumi-bantĕn.[10]

Following this sketch of the results of modern research, let us return for a moment to the legend with which this chapter began. We can now better appreciate its relative truth. The *Usana Bali* presents the origins of what the author viewed as Balinese culture in a picture which, taken mythically, is not incorrect. The gods may in reality have been Brahmanic priests, and their forerunners Indian traders, but the tale retains a core of truth. And it presents a view of Bali's past which has fashioned the thinking of many a

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Balinese down to the present day, namely that Bali's culture and religion are essentially Hindu.

2

Majapahit and Bali

While in the preceding paragraphs it was necessary to speak of the ties between Bali and Java in fairly vague terms, in 1343 the situation changed. Roundabout that year the realm of Majapahit appears to have sent out an expedition whose results are summarized in the court chronicle as follows: "In 1343 Bali, against whose vile and base-hearted ruler an expedition had been sent, was overthrown and everyone slain [or: brought into subjection]."[11] Majapahit, the renowned eastern Javanese realm, was founded in 1293 and fell, after a long period of decline, around 1500.[12] According to the same chronicle,[13] the expedition against Bali was led by Gajah Mada, who from 1319 on had been *patih* (grand vizier or chief minister) over a part of the realm, and from 1331 to 1364 over the whole of it. This expedition changed the state of affairs on Bali for some time. It is evident from decrees issued in 1394 and 1398[14] that the island was governed as a dependency of Majapahit. That the influence was cultural as well as political is made clear in the court chronicle: "And the other island, Bali, conformed in all customs with the land of Java ..."[15]

It is known that with the beginning of Majapahit's decline in the early fifteenth century the dependencies were able to break away. On Bali, too, the political influence of Majapahit came to an end; not so, however, the cultural influence. That has continued to be felt down to the present day. Thus the period since 1343 might be described as the Javanese-Balinese, or more accurately still the Hindu-Javanese-Balinese.

Let us now consider what the Balinese historical tradition has to say regarding this Javanese conquest which appears to have been such an extremely important event in Balinese history. That tradition is embodied in chronicles such as the *Pĕmĕnchangah*[16] and the *Usana Jawa*, which are reminiscent of the chivalric romances of

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

PĔMAYUN TEMPLE OF THE BANJAR OF TĔGAL

I

Introductory Remarks

The region of Buleleng presents a richly varied picture as regards village organization. Besides villages emphatically archaic in character, including some which approximate even in their detail to the original type of the early Balinese heartland roundabout Lake Batur, the region also contains mixed forms and newer organizations that have developed in a more recent period. /01/

This variety is due in part to the elongated shape of the region, as a result of which it borders on practically all the different cultural areas on the island. The area from Kubutambahan eastwards, which is linked with upper Bangli ethnologically, belongs entirely to the *Bali-aga* territory. Many villages such as Tambakan and Madenan represent the Lake Batur type, the best known *desas* of which are Kĕdisan, Abang, Tĕrunyan, and Songan (known in popular parlance as the 'stars of the lake', since they lie around Lake Batur, which is equated with the moon).[1]

A separate area in central Buleleng is formed by the group of *desas* in the hill country between Sangsit, Sudaji, and Bebetin, with Sawan and Jagaraga as centres, where for centuries indigenous cultural life has undergone the fecund, uninterrupted influence of the presence of the court. Antiquities and epigraphic data found there indicate that the royal influence dates from the earliest historical times. It was in this area that one of the most important battles of the first half of the nineteenth century in the outer islands was fought: the battle of Jagaraga in 1849. It is a remarkable detail that even today cannon-balls from the battle

[P 189]

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

are used in the Jagaraga *pura dalĕm* as weights to assess levies in kind for the temple festival.

This is the area of the striking Sangsit style in architecture, which has found one of its finest expressions in Pura Beji at Sangsit. The style is marked by luxurious ornamentation, the use of polychrome decoration, and high, continuous terrace-shaped bases. There is also a marked inclination towards burlesque fantasies, which has led not only to droll portrayals of themes from indigenous life and the animal kingdom, but also to caricatures of Europeans and products of Western technology such as bicycles, cars, steamships, and aeroplanes. As a result the style falls in a category quite by itself.

Further to the west there is an area with mixed forms of social organization constituting a transition to the newer villages of the district of Pĕngastulan which have developed as a result of an influx of people from the south and east. One of the most striking villages in the colonization area is the *desa* of Pĕtĕmon, which contains a clear recollection of its mixed origin in its very name, a contraction of *pĕtĕmuan*, that is to say 'meeting', 'encounter', 'origin'.

Finally, the villages of Sidatapa, Pĕdawa, Tigawasa, and Chĕmpaga, in the district of Banjar, constitute a remarkable, archaic type of *desa*, with Kayuputih, Banyusri, and Gobleg on the periphery.

In this richly varied mosaic of types of social organization the *desa* of Buleleng, lying on the border of the Sangsit area and the mixed area, links together a large number of components which for all their wide variety constitute a unity in the cult of the three village temples.

It is an axiom in the study of the Balinese village system that in the present state of research there is a great need for monographic treatment, and this is *a fortiori* the case as regards such a varied object of study as the extensive *desa* of Buleleng. Only once it has been possible to determine the chief characteristics of the *desa*'s many sub-groupings, most of which themselves present a complicated picture, can an attempt be made to trace a clear pattern in

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Chapter One

The Village and the Villagers

On the highway linking the Balinese capital Den Pasar with the seat of the regent of Karangasĕm, the small village of Nyuhtĕbĕl lies two miles to the west of the steep slope of Mount Bugbug, and from there a poorly maintained country road runs northwards to the valley communities of Pasĕdahan and Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. Few people realize that that insignificant road leads to a world full of curiosities and mysteries, a world of relics from earlier ages, albeit that the past they represent is not so inexorably dead as that of the treasures from the Egyptian valley of the kings.

On his very arrival at Pasĕdahan the visitor experiences the pleasant sensation that there is much here which is different from elsewhere. A square pile of stones with a *mĕnur* – a crown-shaped stone decoration in which the one person detects a stylized *lingga*, the other a flower bud – at each corner is pointed out as the general place of worship for the village, under the name of *bĕdugul* (elsewhere the name of a *subak* temple). On being asked where the *bale agung* (the offering pavilion of a village, and often also its assembly hall) is, the surprised villager answers, "Gone, vanished into the air". The foundations are still to be found, however, overgrown with weeds.

Though from the map one obtains the impression that the two villages practically form one solid unit, it is not possible to go to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan *via* Pasĕdahan, since a ravine separates them.[1] Instead one has to bypass the residential villages and follow the eastern hill path (from where the houses can be seen lying in the valley), go through a wooden gateway (to be distinguished from the *desa* gates), and then descend in a westerly direction to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.

[p.303]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER I

102
131

THE ISLAND

THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO lies directly on the volcanic belt of the world. Like the backbone of some restless, formidable antediluvian monster, more than three hundred volcanoes rise from the sea in a great chain of islands — perhaps all that remains of a continent broken up in prehistoric cataclysms — forming a continuous land bridge that links Asia with Australia. Because of its peculiar and fantastic nature, its complex variety of peoples, and its fabulous richness, the archipelago is one of the most fascinating regions of the earth. It includes famous islands like Java, Borneo, Sumatra, New Guinea, the Philippines, and the hysterical island-volcano of Krakatao. Such freaks of nature as the giant "dragon" lizards of Komodo, the coloured lakes of Flores, the

101
131

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

orangutans, the rafflesia (a flower over three feet in diameter), and the birds of paradise, are to be found nowhere else. The population of the islands ranges from such forms of primitive humanity as the Negritos, the Papuans, the Kubus, who seem only a few steps away in the evolutionary scale from the orangutan, to the supercivilized Hindu-Javanese, who over six hundred years ago built monuments like Borobudur and Prambanan, jewels of Eastern art.

Through the centuries, civilization upon civilization from all directions has settled on the islands over the ancient megalithic cultures of the aborigines, until each island has developed an individual character, with a colourful culture, according to whether Chinese, Hindu, Malay, Polynesian, Mohammedan, or European influence has prevailed. Despite the mental isolation these differences have created, even the natives believe that the islands once formed a unified land. Raffles, in his *History of Java*, mentions a Javanese legend that says "the continent was split into nine parts, but when three thousand rainy seasons will have elapsed, the Eastern Islands shall again be reunited and the power of the white man shall end."

One of the smallest, but perhaps the most extraordinary, of the islands, is the recently famous Bali — a cluster of high volcanoes, their craters studded with serene lakes set in dark forests filled with screaming monkeys. The long green slopes of the volcanoes, deeply furrowed by ravines washed out by rushing rivers full of rapids and waterfalls, drop steadily to the sea without forming lowlands. Just eight degrees south of the Equator, Bali has over two thousand square miles of extravagantly fertile lands, most of which are beautifully cultivated. Only a narrow strait, hardly two miles across, separates Bali from Java; here again the idea that the two islands were once joined and then separated is sustained by the legend of the great Javanese king who was obliged to banish his good-for-nothing son to Bali, then united to Java by a very narrow isthmus. The king accompanied his

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

T 651 [702] [381 cont.] one to four vessels, kora-kora, completely fitted out, armed, and manned by 30 to 40 men. Moreover, some districts (not all) must keep the sultan supplied with the so-called manusia ratus, that is, 100 adult men, who work only for their maintenance and are relieved from time to time. A few other districts must annually deliver to the sultan a certain quantity of rice, sometimes receiving a small compensation in return. Besides this, there are other obligations which we shall leave unmentioned.

T NG 636 651 We can be brief about the administration of the other islands that belong to the territories of Ternate, Tidore, or Batjan. In the main it is the same as that on Halmahera. As far as New Guinea is concerned, it belongs to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore, at least the north and the northwest coasts. The authority of the Sultan of Tidore is in large part fictive, and NG 223 226 even where it is best established it is limited to levying an annual [382] tribute, to bringing in dried skins of paradise birds, trepang, and tortoise shell.

B 101 643 648 636 The principal states on the Lesser Sunda Islands, primarily on Bali, are Hindu states. There are nine: Boeleleng, Djĕmbrana, Karangasem, Kloenkoeng, Gijanjar, generally called Djanjar, Bangli, Badoen[illegible] Mengoewi, and Tabanan. Each of these states, with the ex[illegible] of Boeleleng and Djĕmbrana, is governed by its own sover[illegible] By the treaties concluded with the sovereigns in 1849, aft[illegible] d Bali expedition, they acknowledged that their state[illegible] rt of the Netherlands East Indies and, as such, are subor[illegible] ate to the supremacy of the Netherlands State. Therefore, they have to fly a Netherlands flag above their own on land and sea and the Government's confirmation is required at their enthronement. Otherwise, these sovereigns are entirely free in their administration. Boeleleng and Djembrana are an exception to this. Boeleleng in 1854 and Djĕmbrana in 1856 were withdrawn from the government of their sovereigns and put directly under our authority.

B 643 564 Finally, the government of the states that are still independent must not be omitted. The sovereign should actually be